

Present Market Globalisation And Democratic Decentralisation of Gandhi - Contradicts and Reciprocal.

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Abstract : *Gandhi has never been a system builder in academic sense of term, but his writing touched almost all the social, culture, economic, education and political problems of the contemporary world .He was one of the firm believer of decentralization. As Gandhi was a practical idealist and at the very early he diagnosed the real problem of modern civilization and provides their solution.He continuously worked for the exploited and suffering masses till his death. In fact his whole life was constant struggle against social injustice, economic inequality, political suppression and discrimination against humanity.In dealing with matter of Globalisation and Gandhi, he himself was the product of globalization . He can understand the advantage and disadvantage of globalization. Hence, globalisation is defined by intellectuals as a process of integration and open market across nation borders. Globalization is the free flow of capital, ideas,goods, services, values and culture across national frontiers. As a result it has increased the contact between people of various nation in the field of economy, technology,cultural and governance. While globalisation has positive dynamic aspects, it also has negative, exploitative and marginalised aspects. The process of globalisation has lead to massive economic development, industrialisation,open market economy,advancement in technology, fast information and communication but it also creates, economic inequality, exploitation by rich to the poor, mass violence ,which has divert the world direction on the other sides.Gandhi was aware about all these maladies of globalisation.To him globalisation was not an evil but to believe that everything western was superior was not the correct beliefs. The paper absolutely based on secondary data such as books, magazines, journals etc. To conclude Gandhian democratic decentralisation is one of the best alternative to the threats of present globalisation.*

I. INTRODUCTION

The process of globalisation has lead to massive economic development, industrialisation, open market economy, advancement in technology, fast information and communication but it also create, economic inequality, exploitation by rich to the poor, mass violence, which has divert the world direction on other sides. Globalisation as such emerged for the welfare of whole mankind like cross-cultural interaction of diverse societies, interdependence among various nation as regard to economic, political and socio- cultural development, today it has generated wide spread social, political, and economic and cultural insecurity and imposition of particular culture upon all others. Gandhi was aware about all these maladies of globalisation. As, he was educated in London, started his political action in South Africa before he joined political arena in India. He was very much inspired by western writers like, Tolstoy, Ruskin and Thoreau. To him globalisation was not evil but to believe that everything western was superior was not correct beliefs. 'He believed that the mingling of cultures in India would not be a threat to India's own customs and culture. However, he did identify that the establishment of global society would carry certain dangers for the sovereign nations such as colonialism, both cultural and political, industrialisation and commercialisations of the economy leading to class antagonism and environmental hazards.'

Present Globalisation And Gandhi's Decentralisation

Today we all came across with these problems in our daily life; hence Gandhi's relationship with globalisation remains important even today. He was one of the great advocates of democratic decentralisation. The ultimate goal of his decentralisation was to empower the village community as a whole. Power should be decentralised from inner circle i.e., village level and was against the concentration of power in few hands i.e., in centralised system. However the rapid process of globalisation leads to the concentration of power in few hands or groups. The development of World Bank, International Monetary Fund, World Trade Organisation, multinational companies dominates the state authority as state have only to adopt the rules and regulation made by these institutions. Today the world economic system is regulated by these institution which leads to the concentration of power for which Gandhi opposed the concept of industrialisation. He was the one who had experienced the British rule in India and South Africa after the industrial revolution. He was acutely aware of the impact of British rule in India and not happy about westernisation. The British imperialism, according to him was the result of globalisation.

Gandhi was against the large scale industrialisation and favoured small scale industries. Every individual would be gainfully employed and able to live a self-sufficient life. This local self-sufficiency he called *swadeshi* which was based on the theory of decentralisation. The village industries should be encouraged so that it could give employments to the million of unemployed youth which can increase the purchasing power. In turn there will be demand of goods in the market and which will be more demand for production and empowered the village. He was against the massive concentration of economic power in a few hands, in his economic model he favours economic decentralisation and village becomes the basic economic units. The ongoing process of globalisation considered market as an economic unit and the most important drawbacks of this process is that its advantages move from top to bottom. The real effects of economic globalisation for any country's economic is crystal clear which include- marginalisation of rural or urban poor, rise in the case of poverty, hunger, and unemployment, violation of human rights, exploitation of nature, ecology and environment. Gandhi's economic thought is opposite of what today's market globalisation. The advantages should move from bottom i.e., village level which is based on oceanic circle. His idea of village should be self-reliant and self-rule which he called *gram swaraj* (Village Self Rule). Maximum political and economic power would remain in the hands of village. A village must build a strong economic base in order to satisfy its all necessities of life – food, clothing, shelter, clean water, sanitation, health and education and all the village members should give priority to local goods and services. Today globalisation leads to mass industrialisation, mechanisation, modern civilisation and concentration of economic power in few hands. In fact Gandhi's idea of decentralisation and economic thought was not contradict with the concept of globalisation. He believed in development and change which is the key objectives of globalisation too. But the progress and development should contribute to human welfare, so his concept of development was based on universalism which upholds harmony and balance between different people and also between generations. Such development reflects various elements such as freedom from hunger and poverty, decentralised participation in decision making system harmony and so on. On the other hand today contemporary globalisation contributes various exploitation of man by man, the poor by the rich, the developing nations by developed nations which leads to great disparity in the world. Twentieth century has witnessed a phase of economic dominance of market, conflict, exploitation, and dehumanisation and concerned with profit at any cost. It has been rightly said that, 'economic power demanded and subordinated the political and the socio-cultural process of life on a global scale. It is destructive of ecology, political freedom, and cultural pluralism and on the top of all sustained itself through economic subjugation. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) alone proved to be its sole criterion of success, even while it dehumanised the human society, even when it has in fact accentuated Gross Social Conflict (GSC) to unsustainable levels.'² The progress and development according to Gandhi should start from village level. It is believed that globalisation will lead to economic development but only economic development for few elite is not important, the development of all human majority is important which now adversely affected by the exploitative nature of globalisation. Gandhi was totally against the development based on exploitation and exclusive system. Today the important economic factor is 'Market' which driven world economy has benefited only an affluent people and marginalised the large sections of the society. Generally, Gandhi was not against the process of development and concept of globalisation. As we know that Gandhi was one of the witnesses of the British imperialism and colonialism and he knew the exploitation made by industrialisation which is one of the factors of globalisation. His economic vision is quite different from British non-inclusive economic system which was contrary to India economic system. He revealed this fact in 1946, he said "when the British first established themselves firmly in India their idea was to build cities where all rich people would gravitate and help them in exploiting the countryside. These cities were made partially beautiful; services of all kinds were made available to their inhabitants while the million of villagers were left rotting in hopeless ignorance and misery"³. Gandhi, therefore, favoured egalitarian and inclusive economic development based on self-reliant village free from all forms of exploitation. Gandhi was aware to the fact that the villages in India have their own socio-economic structures which are distinctive to the process and practice of market based western model of economic development. Gandhi said in young India in 1921 "our cities are not India. India lives in her seven and a half lakhs of villages and cities live upon the villages. They do not bring their wealth from other countries. The city people are brokers and commission agents for the big houses of Europe, America and Japan. The cities have cooperated with the latter in the bleeding process that has gone on for the two hundred years."⁴ Industrialisation and machinery is one of the products of globalisation. As concerned with industrialisation Gandhi only opposed its exploitative nature not as a whole industrialisation. Gandhi's concept of decentralisation aims at avoiding defects of capitalism and evils of industrialisation. His economic decentralisation has dual aims in the one hand it aims at eradicating poverty, unemployment, centralism and exploitation and on other hand, bringing a society in which there is great equality, freedom and Non-Violence. Such a society will be possible only in decentralised and non-violent society. He was against the mass production by big industries. He was of the opinion that 'not mass production but production by the masses'. He never discards everything foreign.

He said, "Any article is swadeshi if it subserves the interests of the million even though the capital and talent are foreign but under effective Indian control."⁵ Under the Gandhian economic decentralisation there should be cooperation between villages and cities. As villages produce almost all the consumer goods, cities produce investment goods machine and supply for village industries. Village would be a self supporting unit exchanged only such necessary commodities which are not locally producible. Here Gandhi advocates that the items which are essentially and not locally produce can import from other countries. He was not adverse to technologies and machines which reduced human misery and drudgery. It did not matter whether it was local or foreign.

In fact, Gandhi was only against the exploitative nature of machines and technology which save human labour. Increasing mechanisation and mass production always leads to concentration of power and wealth. In such a socio-economic condition the masses are exploited for the benefit of few. Hence he said, "What I object to is the craze for machinery, not machinery as such. The craze is for what the call labour –saving machinery. Men go on "saving labour" till thousands are without work and thrown on the open streets to die of starvation. I want to save time and labour, not a fraction of mankind, but for all. I want the concentration of wealth, not in the hands of a few, but in the hand of all. Today machinery merely helps a few to ride on the back of millions. The impetus behind it all is not the philanthropy to save labour, but greed. It is against this constitution of things that I am fighting with all my might".⁶ However Gandhi's system was opposed to the centralised political and economic power of the west. Instead of having millions of hands to works, labour saving machines is useless. But today, the industry and machine meant only for capital. The labour and capital relationship is no more harmonious. Gandhi's views on factor of production are based on economic equality. The payment of wages should be based on equality. According to him, machines are such a type of process through which we too are mechanised. It is now believed that the machines though create large –production but render many unemployed. To him labour is the prime source of wealth and it is created through active cooperation of labour. He believed that labour is never under capital. In Harijan he remarks: "labour possess the key to production but lacks talent to run the mills. You could not run it even if you had a million rupees. Capital would be helpless without labour. All mills would be at standstill if labourers were not there to work them. There is no doubt that you are helpless without labour."⁷ Therefore, he said that labour and capital can work together to the benefit of the consumer. But his view has been criticised by many that profit is the only aim of capitalists. Unlimited material progress in capitalist system was not appropriate for human development. To him material progress should be limited. Thus he remarked: "I have always said that my ideal is that capital and labour should supplement and help each other. They should be a great family living in unity and harmony".⁸ He believed in the ability of human capital. For Gandhi each individual is a power house who can work by his hand. But people's craze for machine will make them incapable and weak. Though, mechanism is good when the hands are few for the work. But it is an evil when there are more hands than required for the work, as is the case in India.

Limitation of wants is also the basic principle of Gandhi's economic decentralisation. According to him multiplication of wants was inconsistent with total development of individual. The global economy drives people towards high achievement and high ambition for material progress. This results in stress, loss of peace, loss of space for personal and family relationship and loss of spiritual life. But Gandhi said, "A certain degree of physical comfort is necessary but above a certain level it becomes a hindrance instead of a help; therefore the ideal of creating an unlimited number of wants and satisfying them, seems to be a delusion and a trap. The satisfaction of one's physical needs must come at a certain point to a dead stop before it degenerates into physical decadence. European will have to remodel their outlook if they are not to perish under the weight of the comforts to which they are becoming slaves".⁹ Gandhi in relation to material abundance said that, "if by abundance you mean every one having plenty to eat and drink and to cloth himself with, enough to keep him mind trained and educated, I should be satisfied. But I should not like to pack more stuffs in my belly than I can digest and more things than I can usefully use. But neither do I want poverty, penury misery, dirt and dust in India".¹⁰ Gandhi never favoured poverty and removal of poverty was the primary goal of his economic agenda. He believed that limitation of wants was an appropriate condition for the eradication of poverty. In Gandhi view man could attain real happiness only through the limitation of wants and accept simplicity. He advocated simplicity and limitation of want not only for individual but also for whole society. Thus he said, "Earth has enough to satisfy everyone's legitimate needs, but not anyone's greed".¹¹ Gandhi in fact, advocated small industries and machines which may not reduce the human labour. In this context many have misunderstood that Gandhi was against industry and machine. But Gandhi once said that, "I would prize every invention of science made for the benefit of all. There is difference between invention and invention. I should not care for the asphyxiating gases capable of killing masses of man at a time. The heavy machinery for work of public utility which cannot be undertaken by human labour has its inevitable place, but all that would be owned by the state and used entirely for the benefit of the people. I can have no consideration for machinery which is meant either to enrich the few at the expense of the many, or without cause to displace the useful labour of many."¹²

In fact Gandhi was not totally against with heavy industries and technology but only against the use of large scale technology in an arbitrary manner. Gandhi knew the changing nature of globalisation which is based on exploitation of weak by stronger. As we all know that Gandhi's philosophy is very much application for the past, present and future. His alternatives for heavy industries were Khadi and Village industries which generate mass employment, eradication of poverty and create equal society. His ideal of village industries is labour intensive and gives opportunity to those who wants to work. The promotions of village industries will eliminate the use of sophisticated machinery which makes human being incapable for doing work. Though he did not oppose the machinery but he was against its indiscriminate multiplication. He happily welcomes such machinery as it saves individual labour and lightens the burden of millions. In capitalist system they are primarily interested for mass production for which they adopt centralised method of production which lead to an exploitation of human labour. Capitalism increases greed and competition that leads to economic conflict in the society. Ultimately this type of economic system has destroyed the cultural and moral values. Unlike, Gandhi advocates small village industry which leads to freedom and equality for every individual as well as equal distribution of economic growth and livelihood can be assured to the entire society without any discrimination. Most importantly, Gandhi was not against market, industry and capital import and export but he only wants rationalize the economic activities for the welfare of poor and marginalised section of the society. His economic idea based on the concept of Sarvodaya i.e., welfare of all which leads the elimination of poverty, unemployment, and rural-urban inequalities. He was never in favour of such economic practice that creates mass unemployment, economic gap and social exclusion. His whole economic decentralisation was based on inclusive and participatory development of village.

Modern civilisation has diverted the world on another side. According to the Ralf Dahrendorf define modernity and said, "Modernity is differentiation at work place. It is most significant in the sphere of labour, where there appear a great number of specialised, narrowly defined occupations and professions, requiring diverse skills, competences and training. But it is also pronounced in sphere of consumption, where the staggering variety of options or life –chances faces every potential consumer. Both raise tremendously the scope of choices in education, occupational carrier and life style."¹³ A proper civilisation placed man at its centre and valued its greatness in terms of its capacity. The significant feature of modern civilisation is its functional specialization. Everybody has been trained in specific way. Lawyers cannot imagine their worth outside court and same as doctors, politicians, academicians, teachers and others. Such specialisation of functions makes human being very narrow. Gandhi as such has no problem with either lawyer or doctors but he had a problem with the narrow and limited nature of these professions. The modern man can perform only one function at a time in which he has been trained and he cannot even think beyond that area. Gandhi explain the idea of civilisation in 'Hind Swaraj' he said that, "As men progress, they shall be able to travel in airships and reach part of the world in a few hours. Men will need the use of their hands and feet. They will press a button, and they will have their clothing by their side. Another button and they will have their newspaper. A third and a motorcar will be waiting for them. They will have variety of delicately dished up food.... Formerly, when people wanted to fight one another, they measured between them their bodily strength; now it is possible to take away thousands of lives by one man working behind a gun from hill. This is civilisation."¹⁴ This is how Gandhi clearly differentiates the nature of civilisation before and after. Gandhi thought that man is the creative made by God and who gave both hands and legs for doing work in order to fulfil his or her basic needs. But due to modernisation which results various machines and technology makes human being weak and dependent. He was against bodily comfort. He had a deep impression s of civilisation during his stayed at England. He reflected his experienced in Hind Swaraj, "civilisation seeks to increase bodily comforts, and it fails miserably even in doing so. The civilisation is irreligion, and it has taken such a hold on the people in England that those who are in it appear to be half mad. The lack real physical strength or courage. They keep up their energy by intoxication. They can hardly be happy in solitude. Woman who should be queens of households, wander in the streets, or they slave away in factories. For the sake of a pittance, half a million women in England alone are labouring under trying circumstances in factories or similar institutions."¹⁵ Civilisation according to him is not only bodily comfort but the highest achievement of civilisation is bound to be rather large. Civilisation based on western system is not proper civilisation. To him, "Indian civilisation is the best and that the European is the nine days wonder."¹⁶

Ever increasing material wants are another aspect of highly mechanised and modern economy, has pushed mankind to a position from where we do not know how to get out. Human being became so much dependent on machine which Gandhi never accepted it. To him, "civilisation in the real sense of term, consist not in the multiplication, but in the deliberate and voluntary reduction of wants. This alone promotes real happiness and contentment and increases the capacity for service."¹⁷ His ideal of civilisation is based on moral progress instead of material progress. However Gandhi was not against the modern civilisation as a whole. But his view was based on decentralisation of everything. Again, instead of mass production through automation, there has to be production through masse.

All these industries should be decentralised only then the exploitive nature of industry will be eliminated. Once he said: “personally I hope that heavy or light industries should all be decentralised as far as possible and this is feasible now because of the development of electric power.”¹⁸ Therefore, decentralisation is one of the most important characteristic of Gandhian technology which would be best suited in the present context of globalisation.

II. CONTRADICTS AND RECIPROCAL

However present market globalisation is very much distinct from Gandhian value based system. Present system of globalisation is based on centralisation of power. As it give more attention towards market and heavy industries. Centralised industries lead to the concentration of power in few hands. As a result of concentration of economic and political power the people will lose control on means and modes of production and distribution as well and then the people will be reduced to a state of dependency. Centralised system is very inconsistent with non- violence system advocated by Gandhi. So, Gandhi suggested decentralisation as a remedy for the evils of industrialism. Centralised world order of nation states, which produce a more means of war and violence, to protect their economic interest. And also due to the concentration of power in few hands command the state apparatus to make decision for the rest .Severe economic gap has been created which breeds violence and discrimination. Gandhi suggests that “if India is to evolve along non- violent lines, it will have to decentralise many things. Concentration cannot be sustained and defended without adequate force. Simple homes from which there is nothing to take away require no polishing, the palaces of the rich must have strong guards to protect them against dacoity. Rurally organised India will run less risk of foreign invasion then urbanised India, well equipped with military, naval and air forces. You cannot build a non- violence on a factory civilisation, but it can be built a self contained villages – rural economy eschews exploitation altogether and exploitation is the essence of violence. Centralisation as a system is inconsistent with non-violent structure of society.”¹⁹ There should be decentralised production which is based on locally available resources to satisfy the basic needs of local population. It uses suitable technology and renewable sources. Therefore it is free from most of the evils which is associated with present system of globalisation. He knew that the goal of SARVODAYA could be achieved only if the economic system was decentralised. It is rural based economy and so oppose to the factory civilisation. Gandhi advocated rural civilisation based on democratic decentralisation in which power has been distributed equally. On contrary, under the present day globalisation, effective decision making has been shifted towards international institution, such as World Bank, IMF, that are undemocratic in their political process. Therefore, Gandhi urged for alternative to recognise the economic order on decentralised principles which would be self dependent units bound together on mutual cooperation and interdependence. He argues that the concentration of economic power created the capitalist class which ultimately created gulf between the privileged few and under privileged majority. Gandhi held that decentralisation of held that economic power could serve the interest of community.

Present market globalisation is based on large scale industries whereas value based globalisation of Gandhi gave emphasis to small scale industries. There is a major controversy between large industries versus small scale industry. The trend of present globalisation encourages industrial progress which replaced simple machine through more complicated and big machine. The very nature of industrial progress has lead to the higher production, massive accumulation of wealth, exploitation of labour and material progress. Society has been treated as consumerist. It is well said that ‘ consumer society is the inevitable result of the capitalist – industrialist model of development with the accompanying threats to the environment, the ecology and the minimal well being of the deprived two third of the worlds. With a sixth of a world population residing in the affluent North, consuming a major part of the non- renewable resources and energy available on earth, enough will not be left to fulfil even the basic needs of the rest of the world’s population in foreseeable future.’²⁰ Gandhi was against this market mechanism based on exploitations. He considered exploitation as inhuman and violent. If the capitalist process is continued, it may make the rich richer and poor poorer. Excessive industrialisation is also bad. Exploitation is one of the important causes of suffering of the poor. Large scale industry favoured big machine. Machinery has its own place in the era of globalisation. But gradually it has displaced necessary human labour which leads to mass unemployment. Gandhi, however, favours small scale and cottage industries which he called rural industrialisation. There would be revival of village industry and it may possible only in the absence of exploitation. In order to cruse the exploitation, we have to concentrate on the village and make self content and self sufficiency. Gandhi as such was not against machine but he was against its exploitative nature. When he was asked that, “Are you against all machinery? My answer is emphatically no. But I am against its indiscriminate multiplication. I am uncompromising against all destructive machinery. But simple tools and instrument such as machinery as saves individual labour and lightens the burden of the millions of cottage, I should welcome.”²¹ Gandhi was very much ready to embrace every improvement in the cottage industry and machine but it should not lead to exploitation.

The present market globalisation is very uneven process with unequal distribution of benefits and loses. This imbalance gave rise to polarisation between the few countries that gain, and the many countries that are marginalised. Free market is one of the major aims of globalisation as it creates stiff competition between small scale industry and large scale industry. Obviously, it is the MNCs who established large industry and under such a competition it is clear that the small scale industries are unable to compete them. From the last few decades there has been rapid economic growth due to the emergence of various transnational corporations in the world. It is clearly shown by the fact that, 'In 1970 total number of transnational corporation (TNCS) was about 700, but grew by 1998 to at least 53,607 TNCS that were contracted with at least 448,917 foreign subsidiaries. This six largest corporation in the world (Exxon, General Motors, Ford, Mitsu, Daimler-chrysler and Mitsubishi) have combined revenues larger than the combined budgets of 64 nations that include 58 percent of the world's population (including India, Indonesia, Brazil, Russia, Pakistan, Bangladesh Nigeria and Mexico.) Only seven nations have budgets larger than Ford, Exxon or General Motors: namely France, The United Kingdom, Italy, China, Japan, Germany and the USA.'²² The forces of free global system must be harnessed to serve the aspiration of poor people. As a result, 'in 2000, of the world 6 billion people, 2.8 billion live on less than \$ 2 a day and 1.2 billion on less than \$ 1 a day. Six infants of every 100 do not see their first birthday, and 8 do not survive to their fifth. Of those who do reach school age, 9 boys in 100 and 14 girls do not go to primary school. These conceal extra ordinary diversity and variations.'²³

In contrast, Gandhi gives an alternative i.e. small scale industries based on decentralisation. He was of the opinion that there is enough in this world for everyone's need but there is nothing in this world for anyone's greed. For him a social order should be inter-related and inter-dependent which ultimately realize the ideal of non- competitive, classless, and egalitarian society. But under present globalisation there would be free competition to capture the markets of foreign land. He approached economic decentralisation based on Swadeshi and village would be prime units. Moral value was extremely important for Gandhi. To him economic without ethics was not warranted. Swadeshi implies three things, 'firstly, production, consumption and exchange of goods and services should be locally centred. Secondly it suggests reliance on native polity or indigenous political institution. Thirdly, it portrays the self reliance as the basic units of society.'²⁴ His idea behind Swadeshi movement, establishment of Charkha and Khadi at every household, was meant to make the people self reliant and economically sound. His Charkha and Khadi is a unique instrument for economic decentralisation to provide part time work to the idle rural masses. The mounting population problem has created unemployment and job in industrial sector are diminishing. Swadeshi demanded the exclusion of all foreign cloth. Agricultural country like India khadi was a universal subsidiary industry and could manufacture all the cloth of her requirement. Khadi was the symbol of economic decentralisation. Swadeshi helps in improving the quality of local goods and costs go down due to the use of indigenous skills, resources, manpower and technology. Gandhi observed in 1947, "Immediately after my return to India in 1915 I discovered that the centre of swadeshi lay in khadi. If khadi goes, I contended even then, there is no swadeshi.....the manufacture of Indian mills do not constitute swadeshi. To that belief I cling even today."²⁵ Swadeshi implies a comprehensive preference to local manufacture. Gandhi advocated that the production should be localised which laid stress on the growth and expansion of indigenous industries. It symbolises freedom, self reliance for the society as whole. He considered khadi as universal industry which should not be taken to mean the elimination of other industries. 'Khadi does not seek to destroy all machinery but it does regulate its use and check its weedy growth. It uses machinery for the service of the poorest in their own cottage.'²⁶

In fact Charkha is an important factor as khadi in Gandhian idea of Swadeshi. To him charkha served a double purpose i.e., politically it was most powerful means to unite the whole country and economically charkha and khadi was short of revolution in the line of small scale industries. With the growing market globalisation in which economy controls become ever more remote and less accountable and profit motives seek to colonise the whole world, the concept of swadeshi under such context becomes ever more relevant. The danger inherent in globalisation were highlighted by Human Development Report 1997 that, 'Globalisation is proceeding largely for the benefits of the dynamic and powerful countries. There is no level playing field for the developing countries. Top five MNCs had total corporate sale (1994) of \$871.4 billion while South Asia with a quarter of world's population had a GDP of only \$451.3 billion. The largest 350 MNCs account for 40% of global trade.'²⁷ Globalisation widens the gulf between developed countries. To avoid such demerits of globalisation, Gandhi observed in Young India: "Khadhi was once the dress of the nation at large..... There are instances of whole village taking a legitimate pride in the fact they had to import nothing but salt in the whole round of six reasons. With such conditions, there could be no drain, no exploitation and therefore, no Para-raj (other rule)."²⁸ Gandhi suggests that small scale production at every home should be encouraged but there should be no privilege or monopoly for any economic organisation. In fact Gandhi was not exclusively against large scale industries but he was against only to the exploitative nature. In general heavy industry should be cultivated only in so far it does not interfere with cottage industry and should not contain elements of centralisation. Once he was asked that "Do you think that cottage industries and big industries may be harmonised? He replied, yes if

they are planned so as to help villages. Key industries, which the nation needs may be centralised. But then I should not choose anything to be a key-industry that can be taken up by the villages with a little organising”.²⁹ Thus according to Gandhi for a balanced growth of an economy the large and small industries should develop in harmony with each other. That is why he suggested decentralised rural based economy.

The major contradiction between present globalisation and value based globalisation is Labour Vs Capital. The present market globalisation has its base on capitalist system of production and technological growth which Gandhi never accepted. The basic factor of capitalist system is capital and market. The importance of labour force is very much absent in this system. The entry of FDI & MNCs not only brings capital but also technology to developing countries, but in reality they have destroyed the local brands. The capitalist economy leads to exploitation of the working class and consumers. As they have to work under miserable condition. It has been rightly remarked that, ‘as the market tends to replace the bonds of family, tradition, community and nature and threatens to circumscribe the state, one is tempted to ascertain whether the modern democratic state structure will prove resilient enough to cope with the quantum of momentous change brought about by the force of globalisation, and accelerated by transformation in information and communication technology whether a fundamental restructuring of the state-civil society relationship will have to be undertaken.’³⁰ The present capitalist system is based on self-regulating market economy in which the sole motivator of the market economy is profit-maximization. Besides, capitalism is the evil of social polarization between capitalists and the labourers which results in strikes, lockouts, demonstration and decline of social spirit. Hence, Gandhi was never reconciled to the present market system. He regarded labour force as the most vital factor in the production. He wrote in Harijan that “labour is far superior to capital. Without labour, gold, silver, and copper were useless burden. It was labour which attracts precious ore from the bowels of the earth”.³¹ To him labour is never to be exploited and it should be free from any kind of bondage.

Labour is the chief sources of wealth and without the cooperation of labour capital is of no use because it is not capital, but labour which creates or produces. Thus machine cannot replace the labour. As it is clear from the fact that today most of the big machine is trying to replace human labour which is against the human nature. There is a strong relationship between bread and labour. So Gandhi derived the concept of bread labour from TOLSTOY. Everybody must work for his bread. He said that, “the great nature has intended us to earn our bread in the sweat of our bow. Everyone, therefore, who idle away a single minute becomes to that extent a burden upon his neighbours, and to do so, is to commit a breach of the very first lesson of Ahimsa (Non-Violence)”.³² J. D. Sethi, a well known Gandhian Economist explains the principles of ‘bread labour’ in a proper line- “bread labour in simple terms implies that amount of physical labour, given the arts of production and the society determined necessities. That much labour time must be spent by everybody in physical labour. Anyone who does not work with his hands or other limbs runs the risk of being parasite. Even the greatest thinker, poet or philosopher is likely to be misled by his own ideas & plagues of sophistication, if he is not involved in some physical action”.³³ There is a considerable importance of labour in Gandhian economic system as labour is the actual owner of the product which cannot be replaced by any machines. Therefore in 1946, Gandhi wrote in the Harijan of 15th July, “in it, there is no room for machines that would displace human labour and that would concentrate power in few hands. Labour has its unique place in a cultured human family. Every machine that helps every individual has a place. But, I must confess that I have never sat down to think out what that machine can be. I have thought of Singer’s sewing machine. But even that is perfunctory. I do not need it to fill in my picture”.³⁴ Though, Gandhi was not against the capital but against the present globalisation which leads to conflict between capital and labour by giving more emphasis to capital and wants to replace labour through big machines. But Gandhi argues that both capital and labour simultaneously should work together in a peaceful manner. He always advocated for the peaceful co-existence of capital and labour and there should not be any conflict between two. It is rightly said that, ‘conflict arises when one wants to appropriate more than one needs. The greed is at the root of it. With changed outlook and restrictions on greed, the area of conflict will automatically narrow down. Moreover the feeling that the other is not important and the exaggerated notion about one’s own importance also breed conflict. Gandhi therefore wanted to make both labour and capital realise that each is ineffective without the other’.³⁵ Hence Gandhi preferred peaceful method and suggested to live in harmony by cooperative activities. His labour theory is one of the alternatives to eradicate the evils of present market globalisation.

Gandhian value based economy approach to development and growth must be harmonised with human value. He gave more emphasis to human labour and dignity whereas the present market globalisation gave importance to capital market and machine. He wanted that the development should be centred on the village, manufactures to be labour incentive and decentralised economic system. He mainly wants to formulate such an economic system to both India and the World that no one suffer from wants of food, clothing and shelter. Man is totally free from material bondage. Human being can never be slave to material needs. In the word of Gandhi, “man is an engine whose motive power is the soul. The largest and best quality of work will not be done by this curious engine for pay or under pressure.

It will be done when the motive force that is to say, the will or spirit of the creature, is brought to its greatest strength by its own proper fuel, namely, affection".³⁶ But today the growing power of capital over labour with the liberation of capital led to a massive re-concentration of wealth. To avoid concentration of wealth, Gandhian economic decentralisation is one of the best alternative. His economic system has a closed relation with ethics and moral values. The economic system of any society must respect the ethics and moral value, if it does not that system is not true economic system. In this context he said, "True economics never militates against the highest ethical standard, just as all true ethics to be worth its name must be at the same time be also good economics. An economic that inculcates mammon worship, and enables the strong to amass wealth at the expense of the weak is a false and dismal science".³⁷ He firmly believed if money and machine are allowed to rule, "capital exploits the labour of a few to multiply itself, but the sum total of the labour of the crores, wisely utilised automatically increase the wealth of the crores".³⁸ Technology and machine beyond human control is one of the greatest threats for mankind. A few machineries should not produce well for masses by keeping the millions of people unemployed. Under large scale industrial system, the means of production are owned by few capitalist classes. To him, when all the people are self-employed and owned the means of production and wealth of nation, there will be no monopoly by few capitalist. As regards to exploitative nature of machine, Gandhi argue that, "if the craze for the machinery method continues, it is highly likely that a time may come when we shall be so incapacitated and weak that we shall began touches ourselves for having forgotten the use of living machines given to us by god. Million cannot keep themselves fit by games and athletics. And why should they exchange the useful, productive, hardy occupations for the useless unproductive and expensive games and exercise."³⁹ This is how Gandhi had predicted for future which proved to be right in present system. As we came across that machine have replace human labour and every individual are dependent on machines which leads the absence of manual labour. Gandhi strongly believed that every person has an inherent right to live. It implies right to get basic needs-food, shelter and clothing. In fact needs of the body must be filled by the body itself. Thus, man should earn his bread by manual labour.

III. CONCLUSION

Gandhian economic theory is very often mis-interpreted by social scientist. He viewed technology and machine is agent which should enables application of scientific knowledge for promoting human welfare. Once he said that, "I am aiming not at the eradication of all machinery, but at their limitation."⁴⁰ Further he remarked: "Dead Machinery must not be pitted against the million of living machines represented by the villagers scattered in seven hundred thousand villages in India. Machinery to be well used has to help and ease human effort. The present use of machinery tends more and more to concentrate wealth in the hands of a few in total disregards of millions of man and women where bread is snatched by it out of their mouths."⁴¹ It has been rightly interpreted by Dhurjali Mukherjee, "it would be wrong to argue that Gandhi was against large scale or mass production. He was not against big machines, but he was against the use of machine to exploit individual. He did not want the machine to cripple the life of man."⁴² Therefore, Gandhi suggested that in order to develop a harmonious relationship between labour and capital, his idea of trusteeship is the best alternative as it maintains a balance relationship between the rich and poor. Here the method of decentralisation can also prove helpful by distributing production in various sectors, i.e., cottage industry, small-scale and large-scale industry. He was only against unlimited material progress. Gandhi said in 'young India', "I have always said that my ideal is the capital and labour should supplement and help each other. They should be a great family living in unity and harmony, capital not only looking to the material welfare of the labourers, but their moral welfare also- capitalist being trustees for the welfare of the labouring classes under them."⁴³ Therefore Gandhian democratic decentralisation would be the best alternative for the menace of present globalisation.

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